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to have been the primary one of the leader. He decided where to go and when, in order to hunt, to seek lodge covers, to gather berries, to cut new tent- and travois-poles, and so on. He invited people, prominent men of his own band and of other bands, and fed people every day. He would have provisions on hand and was prepared to carry out extensive hospitality. He would be one who had plenty of buffalo horses which younger men—his sons and nephews—would use on the hunt, and numerous pack horses which returned from the hunt laden with meat. His wives would invite old women, and especially needy ones, to help slice meat, prepare it for storage, to render grease and extract marrow, all of which these old women were glad to do in return for some fresh meat.

As explained by The Boy, a man had to work up from the ranks, so to speak, to be recognized as chief and as leader. "It paid to be prosperous and a good man. In the course of time people would look up to him as leader and other bands would be told that he is the leader. He does not ask for this distinction but, if he is prosperous and good, people recognize him. The band gets together and tells him: 'You are our leader.' He holds 'office' for life. As he grows old he might tell the people to select someone else, but, even so, they would continue to look up to him and to ask his advice and consult him. There are obstacles in the path of life, and one who would rise must walk around or over them. To be an acknowledged leader a man must have distinguished himself at war, but many who were known for their brave deeds were not necessarily in line for leadership.[6] The kinds of things which would have prevented a man from receiving this type of recognition were the following. First of all, murder of one of his own band. For instance there was a well-known character who had

p. 147, mentions that "Each band seems to have had a recognized chief or leader."

[6] Denig, whose experience with the northern plains tribes extended from 1832 to 1854, expresses, p. 403, the concept as follows: "In fact the rank or standing of each Indian be he chief or warrior is so well known and his character so well judged by the vox populi that he takes his place spontaneously. A higher step than his acts and past conduct confer, imprudently taken, would have the effect of injuring him in their eyes as a leader. Every chief, warrior or brave carves his own way to fame, and if recognized as one by the general voice becomes popular and is supported; if not he mixes with hundreds of others in similar situation and waiting opportunity to rise."

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439 wives had vowed to cover a Pipe, undoubtedly he would try to include in his purchases the requisite length of black cloth. Individuals of course differed. In view of their labor, the wives would expect to share in the return therefor which the husband was able to secure from the trader, but this expectation was not always met.[17]

The items thus obtained were consumed by the Gros Ventres in the same ways as those goods of their own manufacture—some being directly consumed, some entering into further production, and some being exchanged on the principle of gifts and of payments for services, and in gambling.

554 A man would accumulate a surplus only to expend it as
431 generously as possible in order to attain prestige. The person with
439 a reputation for generosity rose in public esteem, and was in turn the recipient of many gifts, whereas the man with only one horse and only one wife could not afford to meet the demands for hospitality and for generosity in other transactions, and thus could not profit by the system of indirect and deferred exchange.

262 Sharing of food was an important element in attaining prestige
574 through generosity. A person known to be stingy with food would
554 lack status. The ideal was often preached to children embodied in
867 such statements as the following: "If you have visitors, even though you don't have much food, give the last of it to them."

574 Should a male visitor drop in unexpectedly, the first thing a man did was to tell his wife to cook and she was expected to comply. How seriously this was regarded may be seen from the following case told by Singer: "One time my husband, Iron Bucket, went with a friend to visit the latter's brother. The sister-in-law was naturally a stingy woman and made no move to feed them. Her husband was sitting there fixing arrows and he told her: 'Hurry and cook. If you have nothing, ask for meat at one of the lodges.' This woman had a big shaggy head and sat there with her head bowed and her husband couldn't make her move. After a while, however, some meat was brought in from hunting, and this woman went out, got it and threw it down hard inside her lodge. She was mad. And instead of giving them in a nice way the manifolds and liver that they ordinarily eat first, she slung

[17] For a case in point, see p. 178.

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some liver at them and then put on the meanest part of the meat to boil. Her husband didn't like it, and his brother who had brought the visitor didn't like it either. Her husband picked up the manifold and said: 'Some day I will see about this.' Her brother-in-law said to her: 'Some day I might hear something about you (meaning that she had a lover), and you will find out that I am as mean as you are.' So it seems that not long after that someone saw this woman with a lover and told her brother-in-law, who immediately filled his gun and went over to her and said: 'So I find you aren't as mean as you pretend to be. You are generous about some things. I heard things about you. I came to kill you.' The woman replied, very sassily: 'Well, kill me then!' and he shot her. When they told her husband she had been killed, he said: 'Well, it is all right. I would have done the same.'"

Etiquette was not so formal with women visitors as with men. If a woman were hungry she would not hesitate to go to the lodge of a very good friend or relative and ask for food, with the reasonable expectation that the hostess would get busy and prepare something for her. Singer, herself, however, had the following experience, where hospitality was lacking. "One day a little dog came into my lodge carrying a piece of meat. I said: 'I am going to take the meat from that dog. I am hungry.' But my husband said: 'No, let the poor little thing have it, he is hungry.' I took it away from the dog anyway and then I said: 'Wait, I am going to beg some meat,' and I went over to a certain lodge. Two of that man's wives were out gathering wood and one was home. This one didn't even greet me but sat with her head bowed. I told her: 'I have come because I am hungry.' But still this woman didn't say anything at all. I sat there a long time. Finally a neighboring woman, who happened to be the man's daughter-in-law, came home with wood and looked in. She called me over to her lodge and said: 'What were you doing there?' I told her: 'I just went there because I was hungry and she never even talked to me.' So this woman cooked for me, fed me and gave me a piece of meat to carry home. When I was leaving she told me: 'They really have lots of meat, but they give me only the shoulder. As you leave you must hide this meat I am giving you up under

574 your arm because they always get after me if I feed any one.' So as I was going along the other two wives were coming back with the wood and saw me. They asked this third wife what I had wanted and she said: 'She came here to beg.' They asked her: 'Did you feed her?' and when she said no, the other two scolded her saying: 'You should have fed her at least a little bit' and continued to bawl her out for being so stingy."

While not all individuals lived up to the standard of casual hospitality, the majority seemingly did so, and business negotiations were usually transacted while visiting.[18] The individual who [554] dispensed food liberally could expect a return from others, although not necessarily the ones whom he had fed. Furthermore, if a man wished to sustain a good reputation he was expected to entertain well. It was customary, therefore, when fresh meat had been brought in for a man to tell his wife to cook and then he called out: "So-and-so, come and smoke," to as many as he wished to [554] invite. When the guests arrived he greeted each and assigned him to a place in the lodge, the most honored guests being seated in the back opposite the opening. After the guests had eaten, the host filled the pipe from a plentiful supply of "mixture," and the smok- [276] ing continued until the host gave the sign for dispersal by knocking the ashes from the pipe.

553 574 On more formal occasions, such as a naming feast, the host would ask some older man with a strong voice to act as announcer, and in such case the latter would call out by name each guest and say who was inviting him. Ordinarily a man would invite his own age group, his close friends, but it was not customary for the wives of the guests to come. If a woman wished to invite others, she would go to the various lodges and invite them personally. In this type of planned hospitality there was more in the nature of direct exchange although it might be considerably deferred.

574 431 In addition to hospitality, ostentatious liberality accomplished circulation of goods within the tribe. From the Gros Ventre point of view: "Presents were usually given with the intention of doing good and if no return were made, nothing was said or done. But often it turned out that at some later time the recipient would say

[18] Cf. Denig, pp. 514–15.

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to himself: 'He gave to me, so I'll give to him.' But no one was in duty bound to give the equivalent in return."

Within the network of kinship obligations, exchange was more often indirect than reciprocal. A man could expect help from his father and from his mother's brother without being under obligation to return goods in like amount—he was supposed to repay them by conducting himself in such a way that they could be proud of him. This meant that the man in his turn would be especially generous toward his sister and her children, that he would adequately fulfill his duties toward his wife's people and provide goods in sufficient amount that his wife could fulfill her own obligations especially those toward her own brother's wife and children.

When others saw fit to honor an individual, say for bravery in warfare, that person was supposed to give away goods in large amounts to show that he appreciated the honor; and his relatives would join with him in giving, thereby increasing his, as well as their own, prestige. Likewise in paying for services, such as those of a medicine man, relatives would "chip in" to the best of their ability, the one assuming the largest part of the burden receiving the greatest boost in public esteem. A person who impoverished himself by giving generously at such times would be sure that, with his reputation thus established, he would soon be the recipient of gifts dispensed by others in like liberality. Meantime, however, he could not afford to sit back awaiting the presents from others. He would soon lose his coveted reputation and be referred to as lazy, an epithet strong enough to bring tears to the eyes of a man who entertained any ambitions whatsoever.

If a person were in need, it was possible for him to request what was necessary, preferably from some relative who was well-to-do, and usually his request would be met. But a continual borrower lost status and a limit was thus put upon indiscriminate "begging." One woman stated: "If your sister asked you for something you would not refuse her, but it was to your brother's wife you would give things voluntarily. A woman had great pride in keeping her brother's wife well-dressed, and if you had an extra supply of dried berries she is the one you would think of first."

Thus we have the basis for the generalizations the Gros Ventres

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he should, don't fight back. Let him take it out on you and don't fight back. 183 867

"When you are out playing, if you are hungry and you want to eat, come home. Don't go to any other family to eat because people are fond of their food and might resent it. If a boy, some friend of yours, invites you to his home, don't go."

Garter Snake's father was the one who lectured his children,—three sons and three daughters. Since she was Pipe Child, when her father was Keeper of the Feathered Pipe, Garter Snake was talked to by him more often perhaps than were her siblings. Long after she was married, her mother used to remind her of the things her father told her. Some of these admonitions were as follows: "I want you to be an upright, honest and straight woman. If you listen to everything I tell you and do as I tell you, in the future you will thank me for it. Now don't think you are alone in this world because the One above the White Man sees everything that we do. Don't steal, don't lie, don't be tricky. Be honest about everything.

"When you grow up and finally have your own home, pity the old men and pity the old women, pity the poor. If you see an old woman with a ragged dress, give her a blanket. Make moccasins for these old women. The same holds for these old men. If you see an old man whose leggings are torn, make [illegible] for him. If you see a poor person who needs clothes, give [illegible] some if you have any. If you do that the One Above who watches and looks at you doing those things, He is going to reward you. [888]

"When you are married and have your own home, take care of it well. If you have horses, take care of them; try to have good property and take care of it. If you do that you will always have something. If you have horses of your own that will help your husband. He may not have any and you can help him along.

"Be good to everybody. If a man or woman comes to visit, welcome them. Tell them: 'Come in and sit down.' Then feed them well regardless of whether they are poor or rich, young or old, or even children. [574]

"Above all, don't you ever quarrel with anyone. Don't you ever fight. Try to be friendly with everybody." [865]

Charles Buckman's uncle, who, like Garter Snake's father,

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183 other men so you will avoid your husband's suspicion," and so on.
861 Sometimes the appeal was made by a parent: "If you do such and such a thing well, I will be proud of you." In general it would seem that the positive side rather than the negative, was stressed.

777 It was more often the men informants who mentioned super-
867 natural motives proposed for proper conduct. They remembered
888 that they were told that the Supreme Being would "have pity" on them if they followed the proper code of behavior. Both men and women mentioned, however, that respect for the aged was instilled because "people didn't become old for nothing. They had a blessing from the Supreme Being to live long lives. Whenever you see old people attempting to do something and are having difficulties, you should go right in and do it for them. Help old people out and then ask them to intercede for you that you will have good health, a long life and success in all your undertakings."

867 The example of others was recognized as effective in child-
574 training. Al feels that the Gros Ventres were well brought up in the old days "because children were taught to stick to the rules and they had the good example of adults to follow." In describing the duty of hospitality, Coming Daylight said: "My grandmother was a great one to have a lot of visitors because she was generous, and so I got a good example at home." It was said by others of Coming Daylight: "She feeds everyone who comes along just as she used to see her uncle (mother's brother) do. She takes after her uncle in lots of ways."

In lecturing to the young, examples of actual behavior of persons, both good and bad, were often given. For instance, in warning boys of the evils of gambling, reference would be made to men who would otherwise have had promising careers but who ruined their chances by too heavy stakes which they lost. Fear
[1154] of offending those who had supernatural power lest they retaliate by means of black magic was implicit in at least some of the admonitions. This was so, for instance, in instructing young men to stay away from the wives of "powerful" men, as well as in warning girls to decline improper proposals "in a nice way."

796 new lodge, certain practices in connection with the Flat Pipe, as well as in the dog ritual of the Grass dance. All in all the Grass dance was so much more colorful that, with choice left strictly to the individual, as it was after the "companies" were no longer formed, it seems probable that greater and greater numbers elected to join the Grass dancers. In time the Star society consequently lacked sufficient recruits to maintain its identity.

796 178 The addition of the round dances, such as the Ringtail, around the dog ritual nucleus, allowed all to actively participate. In this way the Grass dance provided occasion for group recreational outlets, while at the same time fulfilling another function formerly carried out by the public religious rites, namely, that of enhancing the feeling of social solidarity. One aspect of the public religious rites had been a nice balance in their performance between periods of ritual solemnity and those of secular gaiety and relaxation. The Grass dance now approximated this situation to some degree in the reserve which the audience maintained during the performance of the ceremonial parts of the dog ritual, and the verve with which it entered into the other parts of the program, especially the round dances. If one may judge from the enthusiasm expressed by informants who knew the Grass dance between 1900 and 1916, it was a most stimulating and enjoyable affair. Each performance drew in a large proportion of the tribe, even those from the ~~far~~ corners of the Reservation.

In spite of its ceremonial features, the Grass dance was always looked upon as social rather than religious, and it could be given at any time. It thus became the accepted manner of entertaining the frequent visitors from other tribes and furthermore was eminently adapted to form the central part of Fourth of July celebrations and the like. [574]

We have seen that in its later phase the Grass dance became more highly organized with the addition of new offices and a few new items of equipment. The expansion of offices meant retaining and underlining the recognition of types of ability formerly premiated while allowing for shifting emphases to different types of ability.